UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor, 1880-1918)

John Haynes Holmes, *Editor in Chief*

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Francis Neilson Louis L. Mann Curtis W. Reese

Darkest Nationalism and the Way Out

By ALSON H. ROBINSON

The Story of My Experiments with Truth

Part II. Chapter XIII. By M. K. GANDHI

Russia, the Land of Contradictions

By SHERWOOD EDDY

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOLUME XCVIII MONDAY, DECEMBER 13, 1926 NUMBER 15

SOLILOQUY OF AN OLD REVOLUTIONIST

To the enduring memory of Eugene Victor Debs

What shall they say of me when I am dead,
Snuff'd, prostrate, blown among the dust of earth—
Less than a dream dissolv'd, a rhythm fled,—
What shall they say who tread with crimson'd mirth
Earth's fairer ways, when I am vanished? . . .
Saint, hero, sage? Ambitious fool forlorn?—
If little counts,—they too must join the dead
And leave their names to honor or to scorn!

Yet Truth will one day vanquish armored foes,
And speaking say my courage once unsheathed
For her a sword, say I disdained the Past
But gloried in the Future's ripening rose,—
Yearned for the People in their pain, and breathed
A challenge charged with love unto the last!

BRENT DOW ALLISON.

For UNITY.

Christmas is here again! This sets us thinking of gifts. And it sets the editors thinking of UNITY as a gift for friends! If *we* like UNITY, these friends would like it too, wouldn't they? If so, what more welcome gift could we send them on the happy day than a year's subscription to this paper? And this would be a gift to UNITY also—a gift "twice blessed," like Portia's "quality of mercy," since it brings joy both to UNITY and to its new subscriber. So we look to our readers this year to send in a large number of new subscriptions as Christmas gifts to beloved friends and comrades. Let us hear from you early, at 700 Oakwood Boulevard, Chicago, that UNITY may surely get into Santa Claus's pack.

We rise to offer a few remarks about the conscription of wealth as a method of preventing war. The *Christian Science Monitor* has been advocating this idea for some years. The New York *World* has endorsed it as taking the profits and therefore some of the attraction out of war. The President advocated the scheme in his address before the American Legion Convention at Omaha, and more lately in his Armistice Day speech at Kansas City. The whole notion seems to be gaining in popularity. Even the pacifists are taking it up. Yet how preposterous, and dangerous, it is! In the first place, think what the citizens of this country would have thought of the conscription of wealth if Mr. Debs, let us say, had proposed it during the War. Or think what would have been the reaction of public sentiment if this doctrine of supreme governmental power had been first suggested by W. Z. Foster or some other conspicuous Communist. This idea is red radicalism of the reddest description. It makes the British Labor Party platform of the capital levy pale into the palest of pale pink. This fact does not invalidate the idea in our eyes—not a bit of it! But it certainly makes us laugh all over when we find the idea on the lips of the little Yankee individualist from Vermont. If Calvin Coolidge really knew what he was advocating in his conscription of wealth doctrine, he would explode like a torpedo in sheer terror at himself. Then again, as another consideration, what may we suppose would happen to any pacifists who happened to have large properties, if this nation should go into a war armed with the power of conscripting wealth? Nobody imagines that the government either could or would confiscate all wealth for war purposes. There would have to be selection, and thus some basis of selection. And if there would be any basis more delightful to the typical war-maker than a first lien on the wealth of pacifists, we should like to know what it might be. Give the government power to conscript wealth regardless, and every pacifist in the country would be beggared in a week.

But there are more important reasons why we are opposed to this idea of the conscription of wealth. These reasons may all be summed up in the fundamental fact that the doctrine involves the farthest possible extension of the war power of conscription. It sounds fine, of course, to argue that if the government has the power to conscript the lives of those who march away to die, it ought to have the equal power to conscript the wealth of those who stay at home to make profits. There isn't an American Legion crowd or Armistice Day audience anywhere which wouldn't cheer that pronunciamento to the echo. But why should the government have the power of conscription at all? Why should it be able to take a man's life and destroy it on the field of battle? As a pacifist we had always supposed that it was this power of conscription over life which was the most terrible weapon in the hands of the militarists; and now we are told, *even by pacifists,* that this awful power should be extended to include property as well as life. And this to the end of peace! Our brains may be feeble and our wits few, but if there is any one thing on the calendar calculated to please the militarist more than any other, it seems

to us that it is this proposal to empower the state to conscript wealth in addition to life whenever it makes up its mind to go to war. If there is any one thing which would make war a little more easy and peace a good deal more difficult than they are today, it seems to us again that it is this idea that a state may have all the power of control over wealth that it now has over life. The great god, Mars, in other words, stands today with one terrible weapon of conscription in his right hand; and it is now seriously proposed to step up and place another terrific weapon of conscription in his left hand. A sillier idea never got loose in the open fields of lunacy. Peace will come not by extending the power of conscription, but by abolishing it altogether. When a state can't feel sure of either a man or a dollar, it may think twice before plunging into war.

Even the New York *Evening Post* is getting worried about Mussolini. Not about his life! O, no —Mussolini is lucky, and every man must die some day. But worried about his rule in Italy—the extremes of tyranny to which he is rushing these days! If the *Evening Post,* dear old Mr. Curtis's paper, can feel this way, what about those of us who have never had any great enthusiasm for the Italian dictator? Surely the present situation in the land of Mazzini must give even the most reactionary some pause. All civil rights, of course, disappeared long ago. Municipal governments have been wiped out in favor of officers appointed by the Premier. All anti-Fascist organizations are illegal, and any agitation against the present regime a crime. Now comes a series of laws, aimed at the protection of Mussolini's life and power, which are savage beyond all description. And as a final blow, or gesture, behold the purging of the national parliament of all deputies in opposition to Fascist rule! In terms of sheer tyranny, Russian Bolshevism is an innocent and feeble kindergarten game compared with what Mussolini is doing. Even Bonaparte was a bungling novice compared with *Il Duce.* The world has seen nothing like this Italian despotism since the bloody and lawless days of the medieval princes. Yet Americans, who pretend to be democrats, swoon in admiration before Mussolini; and our government, which is too immaculate to have anything to do with Moscow, clasps fraternally the iron hand of Rome. Consistency, thou art a jewel! To us, of course, the whole Italian spectacle is as disgusting as it is dangerous. Yet are we patient. History has not been read by us for nothing. The very sweep of Mussolini's tyranny is the measure of the opposition which he fears and strives to crush. The very savagery of his rule is the prophecy of the savagery by which it will be ultimately overthrown. Violence breeds violence, tyranny breeds assassination and revolution—these are laws as certain as the pathways of the stars. Italy may now be enjoying days of unprecedented prosperity and power, but this is poor compensation for the days of horror that are on ahead.

The incident of the Marlborough marriage annulment has developed into a sectarian ecclesiastical controversy. It was ludicrous enough before it reached this stage. To avoid breaking its ages-old fiat against divorce, the Roman church solemnly declared null and void a marriage performed in orderly fashion according to the laws of the land and of the church in which it was performed. The woman, having thus never been married to the man with whom she had openly lived for twenty-five years and to whom she had borne two children, was free to marry another man according to the approved rites of the Roman church. The man, having lived with this woman for this quarter of a century, but not having been married, is assumed to be free to enter the communion of the Roman church in clean and regular standing. This was ridiculous enough, as already remarked. But ecclesiastical solemnity can survive yet more. The church, under whose rites the original marriage ceremony was conducted, rises to protest in the person of the eminent American cleric, Bishop Manning, of New York. Dr. Manning has never been noted for a sense of humor. Mr. Elmer Davis would never have had so good a chance at him as he availed himself of in his "Portrait of a Cleric," in a recent number of *Harpers,* if this sense had been well developed in the episcopal mentality. So Bishop Manning takes the Marlborough incident seriously and resents the implied reflection upon the authority and dignity of his church. In answer he gets from Roman ecclesiastics scorn of the mercenary procedure by which the parents and friends of a young girl bartered an American railroad fortune for a ducal tiara, the body and soul of the girl being thrown in. Bishop Manning's church is charged with being *particeps criminis* in the scandal. However their priests may lack, the gods of ecclesiasticism must have a sense of humor, else they would burst with the spectacle of such solemnities practiced in their reverence.

The Governor of Alabama went fishing. He went well laden. He had considerable baggage. There were several suit cases. Federal prohibition deputies unexpectedly visited his fishing camp. They found what the Governor did not know was there. They found it in the Governor's baggage. One suit case in particular was found in the Governor's own tent, near the Governor's bed and chair. But the Governor had no idea how it got there. He was indignant that any one should intimate that this suit case or its contents was his property or that he knows how they got into his tent. Nobody in camp could explain. That suit case, and several others whose contents proved extremely interesting to the deputies, were there by a sort of miracle. They belonged to nobody; nobody in camp

had carried them in; nobody knew who carried them in; nobody had any idea what their contents were intended for. After persistent searching on the part of the deputies, a later newspaper report intimates that the Negro servant of the Governor was found ready to acknowledge proprietorship. A rarely devoted fellow. The Governor ought to value him. In old slavery days certain wayward sons of plantation nabobs owned Negro boys of their own age whose function it was to take the lickings due the young masters' waywardness. But of course slavery days and their customs are entirely out of date now. If violations of the Volstead Act are so virtuous; if judges and eminent publicists and even officials of government esteem it right to resist so oppressive legislation, why should they be so sheepish and evasive when they are caught in the act? If this is so noble a cause, why should not willing martyrs come forward? Patrick Henry and William Lloyd Garrison and Eugene V. Debs were valiant to resist what they esteemed unjust laws. But they had the courage of their convictions. Is the only martyr worthy of this high emprise of maintaining "personal liberty" a Negro man servant belatedly thrust forward as culprit?

When we think of it calmly, all human problems are problems of adjustment. Adjustment, in the initial instance, to and with nature. Then adjustment in the social sense; adjustment to our families, our friends, our neighbors, the other inhabitants of our world. Most of us have accomplished a working entente with nature to the extent of insuring necessary nourishment and protection, if not comfort. Few of us have completed our adjustment with our fellows. For example, four friends on a certain pleasant evening set out for the theatre. When they arrived before the playhouse one of the four members of the group expressed a desire to go elsewhere. So another theatre was sought, and once again a single member objected. A third theatre was tried, and a fourth! Not even in so small a company was there agreement about what attraction to see! Not even in so unimportant a matter as an evening's entertainment were they unanimous. They did not attend any theatre that night. How much more difficult are the situations arising every day in every department of human enterprise, where hundreds, thousands, even millions are concerned! Every social organization in our time seems to be split into at least two sections. Political parties, churches, schools, clubs, families—all experiencing a struggle within themselves. And the truth is that we are but reflecting the battle going on within our individual selves. A man finds himself different from hour to hour. At one moment he is an idealist, at another a cynic; he plans one thing but does another; he hopes one thing but realizes another. The pity of it! Faced with this psychological fact, we need all the charity we can muster for one another. Perhaps the irritable, sensitive, difficult man with whom we contact in our daily work is overburdened beyond the power of his physical nature to endure. Perhaps the bitter, sarcastic woman who personifies the village gossip is one into whose life no true happiness has ever come. We are all victims,—of ourselves, of one another, of the plane of evolution we have thus far attained. What hope is there? The answer is the slow process of time, the slow change in type, the slow growth of the soul. Man has been solving his problems for centuries; gradually he overcomes one obstacle after another; tediously he toils upward out of the slime of his origin. And what man has accomplished to date is necessarily but a fraction of what he can and will do. We have conquered our physical environment, at least in some part; we have now to consciously apply ourselves to the problem of our own inner selves. What we have done with things we can do with thoughts.

Darkest Nationalism and the Way Out

When upon certain rare occasions the newspapers pause for a moment in their exploitation of American banditry and the adulation of royalty, the most vital and troublesome issue before the world today has a way of slipping in upon the front pages. The matter of extraterritoriality in China, the independence of the Philippines, and the reorganization of Nicaragua are but symbols of a state of mind reflected from the background of darkest nationalism.

Apparently these people are attempting, or would like to become nations like the rest of us. Unfortunately the bandwagon of nationalism is already overcrowded. There isn't any more room, and those who are already on board sit in deadly terror of dislodgment. One of the causes of this obvious discomfort lies in the fact that the journey for the entire passenger list has really been of short duration, and they haven't got used to it yet. It comes as a distinct shock to most persons to realize that down to the latter part of the fifteenth century the idea and the fact of Nationalism, as we commonly understand it, was non-existent. For a thousand years Christendom was supreme. Even Feudalism with all its divisive elements practiced a sort of Internationalism. When William the Conqueror invaded Britain the French language and Norman culture were accepted apparently without protest, by the Barons. But when Luther's seductive voice called upon the state to take charge of religion it was a great day for embryonic Nationalism; and when Calvin supplied a theology which by analogy made it

a supreme joy to be damned for the glory of the state the transformation was all but complete.

Perhaps one of the chief reasons why Nationalism has become so dark and troublesome an object is because it has assumed the force and proportions of a religion; and religion is always a divisive thing, which like politics should never be discussed in polite society. When Christendom went out of the door at the time of the Protestant Reformation Nationalism flew in by the window, and has stayed there ever since. There is a great advantage in throwing the form and idea of the state into a religious concept, both for the power of the state and for a lot of persons who for one reason or another have lost their faith in existing religious institutions. It is almost capable of demonstration that there is a fairly definite relationship between the decline of the Church and the rise of Nationality—except in those cases in which Nationalism is capable of using religion to serve its ends. When religion loses its grip upon the imagination of the people, the conception of the Sovereignty of the State seems to pick it up. The analogies are rather striking.

The organization of religion and the exercise of religious authority are usually attended by certain fairly well defined conditions. First, you must have a body of doctrine, a creed, and you must have a God to worship. Well, the modern State has both of these things. Its doctrine is that it is divinely ordained. We, of course, are the chosen people. One says it over and over, if he is a loyal National, and after a while he comes to believe it. He believes it in much the fashion that Prof. Kirsop Lake believes the Creed. It has a beautiful sound. Then each nation has its gods, symbolized by such figures as John Bull and Uncle Sam. When you see these classic figures you know exactly what they stand for.

Then the State like religion calls for a form of worship or ritual. It wouldn't do for all of these separate nations to have the same ritual, but there are certain amusing similarities. The English for instance play "God Save the King" at the close of every public performance, artistic, dramatic, musical or what not, and everyone stands at attention. A few Sunday mornings ago they had a great parade on Fifth Avenue known as the Massing of the Colors, embodying a curious intermingling of these two sorts of ritual, the ritual of the State and of the Church. The colors of the various participating Churches were displayed side by side with the national colors, and the parade proceeded to St. Thomas's Church, where they first repeated the Apostles Creed, and then the pledge to the Flag. First they sang "Onward Christian Soldiers," and "The Son of God Goes Forth to War," as religious anthems, and then the "Star Spangled Banner" as a National Anthem.

Then again this idea of Nationalism as in the case of religion encourages intolerance. Intolerance is a word which is written all over the face of the story of religion from the beginnings of Christianity to the present moment; and the same is true with Nationalism. One of the worst features about it is the almost instinctive tendency which developes to encourage hatred of every other nation. It was not so in the early days of a lot of Nations. When Italy came into consciousness under the gracious philosophic guidance of Mazzini it was not that way. He had a fine and radiant vision of what might be done, not alone for the elevation of Italy, but for all the world through the factor of Mutual Aid. It is a far cry from Mazzini to Mussolini.

These are some of the dark spots, and no particular acuteness of vision is required to see them. But the way out is not so clear. There are varying answers as to which way we shall turn. There are those who for one thing insist that we continue as we are. "Business as Usual" is a convenient and comforting doctrine. But unfortunately it never works out that way. We never quite do business at the same old stand. Even if it were possible, it is certain that to go on in the future between nations as we have in the past simply spells suicide. It doesn't call for an unusual degree of perspicacity to generalize to the extent of declaring that another war would wipe out the best part of the world's civilization. And since we are sowing the seeds of war in our present manner of doing business, it seems obvious that we had better change or prepare for the inevitable. Therefore continuing as we are is not a remedy.

Another suggestion is embodied in what we speak of as the cultivation of Internationalism. That's a good suggestion. Contrary to popular opinion it doesn't call for the sacrifice of the loyalty or affection which we bear to that country of which through the accident of birth we happen to be citizens. What it means is that we shall recognize a dominant tendency along which matters are moving today, and guide that tendency intelligently through constructive channels. Norman Angell in discussing the question "Must Britain travel the Moscow Road," draws a graphic picture of a familiar situation: " a coffee planter in Brazil, with money obtained from selling coffee in America, buys an electrical motor in Germany; where, with the proceeds, foodstuffs are bought in Russia; where, with the money so obtained, cutlery is bought in Sheffield, the proceeds being spent on currants in Greece, which produce a dress in Paris. . . ." Will somebody kindly stand up and tell us what sort of transaction that is? Is it Brazilian or American or German or Russian or English or Greek or French? Here then is an immensely encouraging tendency of the present moment, the abuse to which the international bankers are subject to the contrary notwithstanding.

Perhaps the most encouraging element of hope, and the best way out is along the line of education.

There are certain enterprises which however vigorously we may attempt to prevent them, leap over any of the artificial barriers which we may erect. Education is probably the most effective of these wall-scalers and passport violators. In looking over the report card of a certain public school pupil of my acquaintance the other day, the list of subjects was rather illuminating. First, Latin: dead, for at least five hundred years and yet as I believe a highly desirable subject as the foundation for broad culture. Will someone please point out where the Nationalism of it comes in. Second, mathematics: the principles of which were laid down by Euclid 300 years before Christ. There isn't anything National about that. Third, English: Well, it is conceivable that the teaching of English might be directed along nationalistic channels; but the fact is that the English language serves rather to hold together the various nations that speak it, than to drive them apart. Fourth, history: If American history were taught exclusively in the public schools, I should think that the case were fairly hopeless; but since they start with ancient history, and end up with American history, if there is time, one is inclined to concede that even the study of history may not be so divisive and iniquitous an agency as is sometimes suggested.

Other ways out of the darkness of Nationalism will doubtless be made manifest. China, or the Philippines, or even harried Nicaragua may find it; but whoever shall find the way, happy shall he be who walks therein. ALSON H. ROBINSON.

Jottings

Ford Madox Ford, asked to name the three most distinguished American authors in their respective fields, named Henry James, Stephen Crane, and Ezra Pound. Well—there is no accounting for judgments, as there is no accounting for tastes.

The steady cutting down of the birth-rate by birth-control, and the equally steady lengthening of life by hygienic and sanitary methods, threatens in time to produce a society of old men. Youth will be scarce and old age abundant. Perhaps this is the solution of the problem of our over-crowded colleges!

A real peace monument, in the form of a fountain with appropriate inscriptions, was recently dedicated in Palo Alto, California, as a gift from the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. The dedication exercises included a children's pageant, the singing of peace songs, and real pacifist speeches. For once there was a peace celebration without the military all over the place.

"Facing great obstacles, but slowly succeeding" is the phrase with which Junius B. Wood ends his long, profusely illustrated, and important article on Soviet Russia in the November issue of the *National Geographic Magazine*. This phrase is as good a summary as we have seen of the situation in Russia today.

America lost in the Great War, in less than a year of fighting, some 242,000 men, killed and wounded. America loses in a year, from automobile accidents, some 600,000 men, women and children, killed and wounded. We must get rid of war and also of some other things!

How can one understand this topsy-turvy world? For example, here is a newspaper despatch announcing that the rise of the franc has been stopped. *Stopped* —by the desperate endeavors of the French cabinet. And only a little while ago, cabinets were falling like autumn leaves because the franc was falling. Up or down—it's ruinous just the same. J. H. H.

The Sweet-Gum Tree

There is enchantment here tonight,
Blue-shadowed silver the snow lies . . .
Blue-greenish silver. This is light
Too exquisite for mortal eyes . . . .
Other-world radiant creatures might
Revel beneath these moon charmed skies.

It is a little moon and young
To work such magic on the place,
And I forget the fear that clung
And looking out, take heart of grace;
Forgetting how my soul was wrung
With fear, know comfort for a space.

There just beside the window stands
A tree I love, a sweet-gum tree,
And in this light of other lands
It shows a gracious self to me;
As slender friendly out-stretched hands
The branches reaching forth I see.

And on the silver earth is thrown
The tree's quaint shadow, darkly clear,
So clear each trifling twig is shown,
Is printed there, each prickly dear
Little straight-hanging ball . . . they've grown
From green to brown within the year.

There is enchantment here tonight,
Unearthly beauty like a balm
Lies on my heart, and still delight
In this one tree has brought me calm.
Serenely I take up the fight
Freed of each hampering deadly qualm.

KATHARINE ALLISON MACLEAN.

American Notes

[Editorial Correspondence]

I

There is a great deal of flag display in America. One could almost believe that it was promoted by the bunting makers. I am inclined to think that it is a part of youth, for America is still young. With this goes the idea that a good American will "show his colors" wherever he may be. The War saw a revival of the habit of flag display, which left behind a custom, written into the laws of the most of the States, if not all, that school children should salute the flag and pledge allegiance. Every school board is required to furnish a flag—not a "tattered" nor a "faded" one either—to be displayed near the school grounds, during school hours, which, once each week, shall be saluted with the following words, in unison, "I pledge allegiance to my flag and to the republic for which it stands. One nation indivisible with liberty and justice for all." There is no exemption on religious grounds. Refusal to salute the flag is proper cause for expulsion. Directors and teachers who fail to enforce the law shall be guilty of misdemeanor and shall be fined or discharged from further service in the schools.

Should a child be withdrawn from school, because of unwillingness of parents to have him salute the flag, the parents will then be dealt with under the truancy law, which involves punishment including a jail sentence. The flag salute, with allegiance-pledge, is not compulsory for private schools, but public opinion would probably deal severely with such schools, did word get out that they were specializing on non-salute of the flag. The American Legion or the K. K. K. would doubtless get busy. The flag habit is quite universal. Some object to the "idolatry." One mother, a Socialist, instructed her child to "salute the red in the flag." However, I know of one family where there is one child, a boy. About a year ago, the parents, excellent people, withdrew their boy from the school, because of conscientious objections to the flag drill, which to them was "idolatry" and contrary to their loyalty to God. The father was arrested, fined and jailed for nine days. The boy was taken from them and put in a detention home. Later, the court gave the boy into the care of the State Children's Home, and still later—the parents being unwilling to recant—the boy was lifted permanently from their care, to be adopted out in a home where he may be with "Christian, patriot parents." Meanwhile, the boy's own parents are forbidden to see him. The boy is now ten years old. I may make comment in the future. If the parents would agree to permit their boy to participate in the flag drill, he would be returned to them. Such a situation is new in the history of America.

II

Here is a side-light on American life, that is not generally observed. It has been noted that the twelve million colored people of the land are, as a rule, peaceful, patriotic and loyal. The charge of sedition has rarely, if ever, been lodged against them. As a result, Wilbur K. Thomas, of the Friends' Service Committee (the Committee that managed so much of the "Quaker Feeding" in Europe) asks the question, that, since the colored people of America are a peaceful people who *need* peace, why are they not active in peace organizations? One of the tip-top leaders of the colored people replies to Mr. Thomas, that it is easily explained by the fact that:

> Colored people are a minority, a repressed and oppressed group—that they instinctively feel, and know, that every advantage will be used against them as a group—especially so, under such fearful charges as "traitors" and "disloyalists"—and that they stay out of peace fights, not from desire but because of necessity or policy. . . . If ever the freer majority people gain much strength in the peace movement, the minority people will be found ready-made for the movement.

The words of this able Negro are worth noting as describing a situation. He says that for any movement to originate with Negroes would insure its failure, for the majority of an oppressing class can be quickly aroused to a panic at any sign of opposition of an organized character among the oppressed. Fear is the penalty which the oppressor constantly pays.

> The Negro is not for war. War does him no good in this land. It occasions his further oppression. "Work or fight" during the world war meant, in Mississippi, "enslave the Negroes again." Colored people know that. . . But they also know by a true and unerring instinct that the great majority of the majority people would immediately take advantage of it to further oppress Negroes if they could raise the cry of organized resistance to the "established order" which always means the "established" majority people, in ordinary minds at least.

These explanatory words should be put in the scrap-book of every student of the race problem, in America or throughout the world. And the way to remove fear out of the minds of the majority group should receive the serious attention of peace-makers.

III

All who are interested in the Pacific Coast will be glad to learn that aerial mail service has been established from Seattle to Los Angeles, with stops at Portland and San Francisco; also, that there is a lighted airway nearly all that distance. A letter now goes all the way in 14 hours, which by train takes 55 hours. Postage is 15 cents for the entire distance. So, the air is being won for transportation and communication. A campaign is also being waged against illiteracy, which, strange to say, is prevalent. There are more than 5,000,000 Americans, to whom the written word is a blank. That these are a menace to the country, no one doubts. The director of the U. S. Bureau of Education, John Tigert, is calling for a "holy crusade" against illiteracy. The General Federation of Women's clubs, with 40,000 federated clubs, is taking up the challenge. Lighted airways and air mail-routes and campaigns for increased literacy are signs of progress in the republic, although Dr. Tigert and the Federation complain that more money is spent in publicity for a horse-race and immensely more for a prize-fight than on publicity for educational movements.

SYDNEY STRONG.

The Story of My Experiments with Truth

[The Autobiography of Mahatma Gandhi]

(Copyrighted, 1926)

PART II—CHAPTER XIII

What It Is to Be a Coolie

It would be out of place here to describe fully the conditions of Indians in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. I would suggest that those who wish to have a full idea of it may turn to my "History of Satyagraha in South Africa." It is however necessary to give here a brief outline.

In the Orange Free State the Indians were dispossessed of all their rights by a special law enacted in 1888 or even earlier. If they chose to stay there, they could do so only to serve as waiters in hotels or to pursue some such menial calling. The traders were driven away with a nominal compensation. They brought forward representations and petitions. But theirs was a cry in the wilderness.

A very stringent enactment was passed in the Transvaal in 1885. It was slightly improved in 1886 and it was provided under the amended law that all Indians should pay a poll tax of £3 as fee for entry into the Transvaal. They might not have land excepting in locations set apart for them, and in practice even that was not to be ownership. They had no franchise. All this was under the special law for Asiatics to whom the laws for the coloured people were also applied. Under these, Indians might not walk on public footpaths, and might not move out of doors after 9 p. m. without a permit. The enforcement of this last regulation was elastic so far as the Indians were concerned. Those who passed off as "Arabs" were, as a matter of favour, exempted from it. The exemption thus naturally depended on the sweet will of the police.

I had to experience the effect of both these regulations. I often went out at night for a walk with Mr. Coates, and we rarely got back home much before 10 o'clock. What if the police arrested me? Mr. Coates was more concerned about this than I. He had to issue passes to his negro servants. But how could he give one to me? Only a master might issue a permit to a servant. If I had wanted one, and even if Mr. Coates had been ready to give it, he might not have done so, for it would have been fraud.

So Mr. Coates or some friend of his (I forget which) took me to the State Attorney Dr. Krause. We turned out to be barristers of the same Inn. The fact that I needed a pass to enable me to be out of doors after 9 p. m. was too much for him. He expressed sympathy for me. Instead of ordering for me a pass, he gave me a letter authorizing me to be out of doors at all hours without police interference. I always kept this letter on me whenever I went out. The fact that I never had to make use of it was a mere accident.

Dr. Krause invited me to his place and we may be said to have become friends. I occasionally called on him and it was through him that I was introduced to his more famous brother, who was Public Prosecutor in Johannesburg. During the Boer War he was court-martialled for conspiring to murder an English Officer and was sentenced to imprisonment for seven years. He was also disbarred by the Benchers. On the termination of hostilities, he, Dr. Krause, was released and being honourably readmitted to the Transvaal bar, resumed practice.

These connections were useful to me later on in my public life and simplified much of my work.

The consequences of the application of the regulation regarding the use of footpaths were rather serious for me. I always went out for a walk through President Street to an open plain. President Kruger's house was in this street—a very modest, unostentatious building, without a garden and not distinguishable from other houses in its neighborhood. The houses of many of the millionaires in Pretoria were far more pretentious and were surrounded by gardens. Indeed President Kruger's simplicity was proverbial. Only the presence of a police patrol before the house indicated that it belonged to some official. I nearly always went along the footpath past this patrol without the slightest hitch or hindrance.

Now the man on duty used to be changed from time to time. Once one of these men without giving me the slightest warning, without even having asked me to leave the footpath, pushed and kicked me into the street. I was dismayed. Before I could question him as to his behaviour, Mr. Coates who happened to be passing the spot on horseback hailed me and said:

"Gandhi, I have seen everything. I shall gladly be your witness in court if you proceed against the man. I am very sorry you have been so rudely assaulted."

"You need not be sorry," I said, "what does the poor man know? All coloured people are the same to him. He no doubt treats Negroes just as he has treated me. I have made it a rule not to go to court in respect to any personal grievance. So I do not intend to proceed against him."

"That is just like you," said Mr. Coates, "but do think it over again. We must teach such men a lesson." He then spoke to the policeman and reprimanded him. I could not follow their talk, as it was in Dutch, the policeman being a Boer. But he apologized to me, for which there was no need. I had already forgiven him.

But I never again went through this street. There would be other men coming in this man's place, and ignorant of the incident and they would behave likewise. Why should I unnecessarily court another kick? I therefore selected a different walk.

The incident deepened my feeling for the Indian settlers. I discussed with them the advisability of making a test case, if it were found necessary to do so after having seen the British Agent in the matter of these regulations.

I thus made an intimate study of the hard condition of the Indian settlers, not only by reading and hearing about it, but by personal experience. I saw that South Africa was no country for a self-respecting Indian, and my mind became more and more occupied with the question as to how the condition might be changed.

But my principal duty for the moment was to attend to the case of Dada Abdulla.

M. K. GANDHI.

(Translated from Navajivan by Mahadeo Desai.)

Gandhi's Birthday Celebration in India

[By our special correspondent]

The 2nd of October was observed throughout India as a general day of rejoicing and forgetting of grievances, as it was the birthdate of the great saint of India, Mahatma Gandhi. Schools and colleges and municipal and other public bodies celebrated the day of jubilation.

In Karachi the little children, dressed in their variegated hues, arrayed themselves before their respective schools, carrying each the Indian Tri-Color flag of independence with red, green and white stripes. They marched together to the city gardens and recreation grounds, offering their prayers all along the way. The procession was cheered throughout by the multitudes of people who thronged by the sides of the road that led to their destination.

Each group carried with it in front the photograph of Mahatma Gandhi, garlanded with their own hand-spun cotton yarn.

For the convenience of the little urchins, the municipality had arranged free transport. Trams and taxies, camel carts and horse carriages plied the streets in regular procession, and in front of each vehicle there was visible the photograph of Gandhiji.

The songs for the occasion were recited throughout the march, and at the end of each the little band was cheered with the cry of *Mahatma Gandhi Ghanu Jivo* (long live Mahatma Gandhi); and the cries of Mahatma Gandhiji ki Jai (Success for Gandhiji) resounded throughout the skies.

When the procession reached its destination, sweets were distributed by the municipality to the school children, and the poor were fed. Leaders assembled and delivered speeches befitting the occasion. Such processions and meetings were organized throughout the whole of India. But on that day, Mahatmaji only said his prayers!

This reminds the writer of the two legends connected with the greatness of the River Sabarmati, the bank of which is graced by the presence of Mahatma Gandhi.

In ancient times there lived an old dame on the Bank of River Sabarmati, who patiently gathered daily fruits in anticipation that her *Lord* might one day come to her and demand fruits. Every day's collection she used to gather up and keep in a safe place. This of course would go bad, but despite this fact, she would not throw it away. It so happened that one day while going to Ceylon, Lord Rama Chandra happened to come across that little cottage in search of water. The old lady offered with great devotion the rotting collection of her fruits, and lo! they were changed into fresh ones.

Another legend is that in days of yore, there was a war between Gods and Demons, and for the success of the former it was essential that they should have their weapons made of the bones of great Saint Dadhichi, who was offering his penances on the embankment of River Sabarmati. The Gods approached him, and with great delight the Saint gave his body to them.

The locality, where the above saint died in offering himself as a willing sacrifice, is still today known as Dudheshwara, and is a cremation ground of the Hindus.

Just on the bank of the river Sabarmati, nearly on that very spot, is situated the Ashram of Mahatma Gandhi. The atmosphere around the spot bespeaks devotion and sacrifice. Gandhi is adding his tale to the existing glory of Sabarmati.

D.

India.

The Menace of Evil

What shall we say to the ancient Sphynx-question,
To the easy optimist most bewildering:
What shall we think of the chaos of things unseemly, hurtful and evil?
Is God, pray, in this chaos tumultuous, commanding order
Out of confusion and revealing from the face of this mottled world an indestructible beauty?
Surely this is the rule of the drama, of all works of art most illustrious.
Surely God, the Creative Word, must be in the things
Of unseemly appearance, or else how could they be?
No finite creature could possibly reveal or contain
All of God—the infinite wholeness of being. Each thing,
Like a speck of paint in the picture, can only hint at a
Part, a side, an aspect, in itself perchance only ugly until seen with the rest
In the perspective held in the mind of the artist.
What spectator—what actor, or workman arranging the stage or the scenes,
Can know in advance the complete thought of the Almighty Poet?
The mind of the poet—just a thought—flashes forth in the bit of paint, in the dress
Of each actor, in the ugly look of the villian,
In anguish too and sorrow and doubt at those points
Where the spectators shiver and pity, Aye and the artist too suffers
With the tragic passion inevitable. All the same, the total mind
And heart and soul of the poet are never revealed in such things as these.
So too when some magic display, lent from God, is abroad
And myriad webs of the spiders, marvelously spun overnight,
Catching a whole lake of dew drops, dance
With the morning sun over the meadows. The beauty of God is
Revealed and we, born of God, answer back to each tiny
Aspect of thought universal, one thought, line upon line, at a time.
All the more long we and cry out for God in His wholeness.
Where love is there God is more than in all the glory of stars;
Where love is not and cannot be looked for—in the parched deserts,
In ravenous beasts, in faces unkind and repellent,
Our nature loathing the ugly, the horrid, the hurtful,
All the more, thirsting for life, we cry out for God, the loving and living Reality;
All the more long we for love to dispel the black clouds
Of hate and despair that shut out
In millions of men their best selves from our sight;
In a world still partial and trivial we long
For the Drama's revealment, for the full demonstration
Of deity-God's power and His tenderness also, the bare glimpse
Of which makes our joy and peace.

CHARLES F. DOLE.

Russia, the Land of Contradictions

During August I made my fourth visit to Russia with a party of twenty-four American business men, editors, educators and social workers. After nine years under the present government, while our country has been flooded by propaganda both red and white, it seemed that the time had come for an unofficial group to make an objective, impartial, fact-finding study of actual conditions in Russia and to share their impressions with their friends in America. We were particularly on our guard lest we should be a "personally conducted" delegation shown only the most favorable things by government interpreters. Our party included four persons who spoke Russian and we employed twelve other interpreters, the majority of whom belonged to the old order rather than the new. We were granted entire freedom in Russia, we went where we wished, chose the institutions we wished to inspect and freely interviewed both friends and foes of the present government.

Some of us flew from Berlin to Moscow in a day, in a never-to-be-forgotten flight in a storm. During a total of two weeks in Moscow, we interviewed some thirty of their principal leaders, including Stalin who, more than any other, has succeeded to Lenin's influence and power; Chicherin, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Lunacharsky, Minister of Education and many heads of departments of the state and the church, members of the old Czarist regime, foreign diplomats, business men, and newspaper correspondents, as well as workers and peasants. We visited, of course, all possible places of importance, such as the historic Kremlin, the seat of the present government, as it had been the fortress and home of the rulers of church and state for eight centuries. We saw the palaces and crown jewels of the Czars, also factories, schools, prisons, museums, galleries, and the remarkable institutions of social education and service for workers and peasants, of which Russia is so proud.

We visited the medieval city of Nizhni-Novgorod and attended its picturesque fair, which for five centuries has been a meeting place of East and West. We inspected here one of the 300 high power wireless stations by which Russia keeps in touch with all parts of the world. For a night and a day we journeyed down the blue Volga to Kazan, the capital of the autonomous Tartar Republic which claimed to represent one of a hundred liberated peoples and nationalities which make up the federal union of Russia. Four members of the party visited the southern Ukraine, the Crimea, and the Caucasus, while one crossed and recrossed the Transiberian Railway. After visiting Leningrad, most of the party left by way of Finland or Poland. Before attempting to evaluate the present situation in Russia, may I mention one or two fundamental facts:

1. *The significance of the present experiment in Russia* can hardly be exaggerated either in its possibilities for good or for evil. Here is the largest country in the world, with an area of twice the continent of Europe, twice that of the United States, or one-sixth of the habitable land surface of the earth, with vast undeveloped resources. Here is the largest white population in the world, with 140,000,000, a truly great people whose human resources far outweigh their material possessions. Siberia alone, almost a continent in itself, rich and fertile, if populated with the density of Belgium would accommodate almost twice the earth's present population. Here is this great people trying the most colossal experiment in history in this vast laboratory of social research. For good or evil, from the point of view of shaping history, Russia is perhaps the most significant country in the world today, together with our own.

2. *The basic poverty of Russia* must not be forgotten in understanding its situation. The average wage of labor in industry is less than a dollar a day and it is much less in agriculture. Russia was ruined after five centuries of a corrupt Czarist regime, after the greatest loss of any nation in the World War, after two revolutions, a world blockade, invasion by armies of the Allied nations, fighting at one time on twelve different fronts, meeting the sabotage of their own bureaucracy, surviving a famine where three millions perished, swept by pestilence, with their peasants on strike reducing the area under cultivation by half, and their industries disorganized and in 1920 reduced to one-seventh of their pre-war production.

3. *Yet industry and agriculture are steadily recovering.* After having fallen to 14 per cent of their pre-war production in industry, this year they have recovered almost 90 per cent of their former maximum production, both in industry and agriculture, and will probably equal it next year. Despite all obstacles their budget has been balanced, their currency stabilized and most of their available land, although nominally owned by the state, has been divided up and has come into the permanent possession of the peasants. Although it will be long delayed for lack of funds, they have begun the most complete system of electrification in the world. After examining the evidence pro and con, although some authorities disagree, personally I believe that the trend of events points to two economic conclusions. First, that, although the process will be delayed without foreign capital, nothing outside Russia can now prevent the ultimate economic success of their experiment. Second, barring those who are working loyally with them in the present economic order, their treatment of the former privileged tenth of the population has been cruelly unjust; yet the condition of nine-tenths of the great mass in industry and agriculture is on the whole slightly better economically and immeasurably better in the releasing of the human spirit for self-realization and self-expression, than it was under the blindly repressive Czarist regime. This is true not only among the communal city workers, but particularly among the hardy individualistic and independent peasants now awakened by the World War, the new education and growing self-government. The 8,700,000 members of trade unions have more influence in the democratic sharing of control in industry and in government than in any other country, but they have no autocratic power. Infrequent strikes are legal but are quickly settled by conciliation boards or by arbitration courts. The Cooperative movement is one of the strongest in the world with 11,000,000 in the Consumers Cooperatives and 7,650,000 in the Producers and Farmers organizations, with some duplicate members. These are not only an economic but a vast educational and social force making for the recovery of the nation.

4. *The present Soviet government has come to stay.* With all its faults it seems to be on the whole much better than the former hideous Czarist regime. Although its downfall has been eagerly predicted for the last nine years it was never so strong as it is today. Whatever its faults there is no other party or government in sight that could govern Russia and maintain law and order. Few of the people want to go back to the slavery of the Czars or the nerveless rule of Kerensky. We found no government in Europe more stable and strongly intrenched. No other has made so many changes and adaptations; none has been more willing to confess its many mistakes and learn from them. Its army has been reduced to one-tenth its size of sixty years ago, from 5,300,000 in 1920 to some 550,000 today, being less in size and expenditure, in proportion to population, than those of the surrounding nations.

May I now evaluate some elements in the present situation that seem to me to be evil and some that are good? Among the evils I would list:

1. *The severe abridgment of liberty.* There is little liberty of the press, though a wide range of criticism of the government is permitted provided it is not seditious. For the present, they frankly profess dictatorship rather than democracy. They believe that other countries have a veiled dictatorship of the privileged one-tenth, while they claim a frank dictatorship on behalf of the hitherto unprivileged nine-tenths who constitute the working masses. Their state control of life at almost every point is exceedingly irksome to any liberty-loving Anglo-Saxon, and one feels that an oppressible weight has been suddenly lifted as he leaves the Russian frontier.

2. *The Communist Party is frankly materialistic, atheistic and anti-religious in its policy.* This is not surprising when it is remembered that, despite the deep mystical religious piety of many of the Russian people, the revolution was not only against a corrupt state but against a reactionary Czarist church that often presented a sad caricature of religion, and at times was an adjunct of the police department and the spy system. Although not forbidding the teaching of religion in the home, nor preaching in the church, the organized religious instruction of youth under eighteen is prohibited. We found freedom of worship in the churches which seemed almost as well filled as before the war, but there was a conspicuous absence of youth.

3. *The philosophy of the Communist Party is based upon force and their avowed policy is world revolution.* This party has a membership in fifty-two countries and its plan of revolution is a frank challenge to our whole social order. Their policy at this point is undoubtedly serious but it need be feared only where rank injustice or misery leads the workers to despair or where liberty is denied. Mohammedanism has just such a program in theory, where according to their sacred Book all "infidels" are to be offered their choice between Islam, tribute or the sword. But, although this is their authoritative pronouncement, we do not feel ourselves in any real danger from Islam, either by its propaganda or by the sword. Our security is in the measure of our organized intelligence, justice and liberty. It is so in the case of Russia.

An impartial standpoint calls for the appreciation of the good as well as condemnation of the evil in Russia. The following points may be noted:

1. *There are elements of value in their ideal* which play a powerful part in the shaping of the life of the people, even though they have not always lived up to them. They aim "to end the domination of capitalism, make war impossible, wipe out state boundaries, transform the whole world into a co-operative commonwealth, and bring about real human brotherhood and freedom." Of all their ideals none is more remarkable than that the leaders of the largest united Republic in the world should endeavor to rise above personal profit and sordid private gain to the standard of unselfish social service for the common good. No member of the Communist Party is permitted to receive an income of more than $112.50 a month or $3.75 a day, or less than the wage of many day laborers in America. The man who goes in for profiteering for himself is scorned as a moral leper as in no other country in the world, and if he is a member of the Communist Party, after a fair trial, he is executed or expelled. They appeal to the heroic and the sacrificial. All but two of Lenin's cabinet had shared with him nearly twenty years in exile, poverty or imprisonment. Many of these elements in their ideal are closely akin to the Christian virtues.

2. *Russia provides a vast laboratory for social experiment.* The Soviet system is on a vast scale a government of humble workingmen and peasants trained in the school of adversity in practical life. Many of them had no more schooling than Lincoln. Russia presents the first complete revolution in history in the entire political, economic and social life of a people. Here for the first time on such a scale is attempted the full sharing of all privileges with the poorest. Here the best that can be provided in science, art, music, the theatre, the educational film, physical culture, recreation and enjoyment are not for the favored few but for all the poor. Although too poor to carry all their laws into immediate effect, Russia has the most advanced labor legislation in the world. In spite of their admitted bitter poverty they provide such relief for the poor, such social insurance for unemployment, for sickness, accident, old age and every other disability that they often put rich America to shame with her often-neglected poor and unscientific and unnecessary unemployment.

3. Finally, with all its own glaring evils and mixed motives, it may be a good thing to have *a nation that stands as a challenge to all the rest of the world* wherever capitalism is ruthless, wherever imperialism exploits the weak, the poor and helpless nations and darker races. Here stands a nation like an "Adversary," an instrument, a weapon against injustice everywhere, even though it has itself been most cruelly unjust to its own former exploiters. Does impoverished Russia challenge rich America for its backwardness in many of the most elemental forms of social insurance, in its frequent denial of the most elemental right of collective bargaining and the claims of labor unions to representatives of their own choosing; in its failure to regulate inordinate and excessive wealth and income when found side by side with poverty unrelieved; in its failure adequately to protect the farmer from exploitation and to extend the cooperative movement as has been done in Russia, England, Germany, Denmark and other lands; and in the gradual extension of social control wherever it can be efficiently operated without graft and disgraceful party politics?

Practically all the American party favored recognition of the present government without in any way

committing themselves to approval of the Soviet system. I personally favor recognition on the basis of President Coolidge's message to Congress of December 6, 1923. It has not been the policy of the United States to base recognition of other governments upon approval of their practices. Did we approve of all the evils of the Romanoffs, the Hohenzollerns, the Hapsburgs, or the Sultans of Turkey? The present government has proved itself a stable and enduring government of the Russian people. There is no other in sight. All the other leading nations of the world have recognized the Soviet government and established trade relations with it. Our American party believes it is not compatible with our economic interests nor our moral ideals further to withhold recognition. Negatively to refuse recognition will breed growing suspicion, hostility and hatred. No policy of peace or world disarmament, no plan for the economic recovery of Europe and of the world can succeed which ignores the crucial position of Russia. Is it better to drive Russia into opposition as an outcast Ishmael among the nations, to stir up trouble in every discontented nation and class, or to bind her hand and foot with trade agreements, treaties and relationships into the co-operative life of the world? Was it better to outlaw Germany as an enemy or bring her as a co-operating friend into the League of Nations? Positively, *in proportion as the present government of Russia is stabilized* and bound by trade agreements and political obligations the *whole policy of the Third International is defeated.* And conversely, in proportion as the government of Russia is driven into the position of an enemy-outlaw we unwittingly further the cause of world revolution.

President Coolidge in his message to Congress said, "I am willing to make very large concessions for the purpose of rescuing the Russian people. Whenever there appears any disposition to compensate our citizens who were despoiled, and to recognize that debt contracted with our government, not by the Czar, but by the newly formed Republic of Russia; whenever the active spirit of enmity to our institutions is abated—our country ought to be the first to go to the economic and moral rescue of Russia." These three conditions the Russia government is ready to fulfill, and through its foreign minister in his note to the President of December 16, 1923, has "announced its readiness to enter into negotiations with the American government and to remove all misunderstandings and differences between the two countries." Yet for three years we have refused even to confer with them as to their readiness to meet our own conditions. Facing the same factors and hating Bolshevism as much as we do, the governments of Britain, Germany and France have recognized the present government of Russia, have entered into trade agreements which are scrupulously fulfilled and believe that they are better able to fight the Third International with Russia bound, than with an outlaw free whom they cannot control. We, therefore, advocate the recognition of the government on the basis of President Coolidge's proposals. We would absolutely oppose the Third International, not by violence or by falsehood, but by putting our own house in order. We would remove all just causes of discontent on the part of labor, and establish such a system of justice, freedom, enlightment and prosperity that labor will no more want revolution and Russian poverty than they will want either the sword or propaganda of Islam, much as they may respect the devotees of that or any other religion.

May I in closing add one word of conviction regarding Russia. The serious and undoubted evils in the present Soviet system are leading many in this country to treat with contempt, under a policy of isolation, ignorance and counter propaganda, what may prove to be the most significant social movement of our time. The excesses of the French Revolution long obscured its permanent contribution to liberty, equality, fraternity and democracy in a partly emancipated Europe. Our feelings have been too recently and deeply stirred both by the passions of the War and of the Russian Revolution to evaluate what will probably prove an immeasurably more significant and constructive movement than the limited and local event in France.

On my last day in Moscow at eight o'clock in the evening I joined the company of two thousand waiting each night in the long line for the doors to be opened at Lenin's tomb. From eight to nine each evening, six nights a week, some thousands of the youth of Russia file by, year in and year out, in silence befor the body of a man *they* believe lived with a passion for humanity, after twenty years in poverty, in prison and exile, only to fall from the final effects of an assassin's bullet after a life-long struggle against a system that *he* believed was one of fundamental economic injustice. Near by Lenin's tomb stood the shrine of the Iberian Virgin with peasants crossing themselves and praying for miraculous healing and blessing. Just above it was the inscription "Religion the opium of the people."

I saw the Church of the Czars in Russia before the war, despite the mystic devotion of many, identify itself with the economic and political parties of privilege and power, silent on every burning moral and social issue of the day. I saw it, blind to the rising tide of moral indignation, which finally broke with the fury of pent up multitudes upon it. The church in America and its allied Christian organizations have not yet finally chosen their course—prophetic utterance or subsidized silence.

The toiling poor in industry already have been largely lost to the Christian cause in Russia and over much of Europe. They simply will not believe in the comfortable followers of religion who steadily seek to grow rich in a poor world, while they refuse to share with the needy at their gate. The ideals taught and practiced by Jesus are as far above the plan of Marxian materialism as the character of Jesus is above that of Lenin. But the multitude today will believe in a visible passion for humanity and in sacrificial service for the poor, whatever its philosophy or theology, before they will follow the echo of any creed or deed in the distant past. By their *fruits* they shall be tested, whether Christians or Communists. How many professing Christians are willing to live as sacrifically, as passionately, as practically for humanity in the actual sharing of their possessions, as these men who have ceased to believe in God because they are convinced that so much of the current practice of religion is a sham? Here is the challenge of a new co-operative social order. May it drive us back in sincerity to examine the foundation of our own faith and the superstructure we have built upon it, whether of costly sacrifice or of the wood, hay and stubble of cheap and perishable "success."

SHERWOOD EDDY.

The Study Table

A Novel of the Times

This book* has already stirred comment in Washington. We should think it would! We shall be surprised if it is not stirring comment throughout the nation by the time this review appears.

For Samuel Hopkins Adams has done a bold thing, even a sensational thing. He has taken the Harding administration as the setting for his story, and out of this material woven such a tale of corruption, depravity, private and public dishonor as may well make the dead to turn over in their graves, and the living to writhe in shame and horror. His book, of course, is not a history—it is a novel! It has fictitious characters and scenes and episodes; there is enough scrambling of facts to avoid libel suits and personal charges of betrayal. But the actuality of what is being told here is unmistakable. This is the story of the "Ohio gang," and its plundering of the nation when its chief "pal," Warren Gamaliel, was in the White House. The plot is the scandals of Teapot Dome, the Veterans Bureau, and the sale of the Marion newspaper. The scene is partly the White House, but mostly that little green house where the poker games were played, the whiskey and rye consumed, and the plots hatched. The characters are the familiar figures, good and bad—Daugherty, Fall, Forbes, Hughes, Hoover, Mellon, Coolidge, McLean, Jesse Smith, Senator Wheeler. And at the center, clearly drawn in every line of its weakness, charm, easy good nature, vulgarity, and utter incompetence, the attractive, pathetic, tragic figure of President Harding. "Revelry" is the word to describe the atmosphere, the spirit, the character of what went on in Washington while Harding was at the helm. It was a period of orgy and debauchery—wine, women, song and graft were the unbroken order of the day. As here set forth in story-form there is much melodrama, but little exaggeration or distortion. The American public has yet to learn the crimes which were committed in its name while the revelry went on.

Mr. Adams is not a great novelist. But he is a first-class journalist, and he knows how to take the materials of contemporary life and weave them into a thrilling story. In this book he has done a brave thing and a big thing. He has done, under the guise of fiction, what can not yet be done perhaps in fact—stripped the garments from the Harding tradition and shown it naked.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

Tabloid Reviews

THE RACIAL CONFLICT IN TRANSYLVANIA, by John M. Cabot. (The Beacon Press.) A comprehensive survey, both historical and current, in which it is shown that the post-war solution is no solution at all, together with suggestions for modifying Hungarian ill-will and keeping Roumania out of the international divorce court.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT, by Edward H. Cotton. (The Beacon Press.) A biographical study which subordinates facts and incidents to colorful personality.

JEWISH SCIENCE AND HEALTH, by Rabbi Morris Lichtenstein. (Jewish Science Publishing Company, New York.) An effort to dress up Mother Eddy in the livery of modern Judaism, which for pseudo-science, pseudo-psychology, pseudo-religion and meaningless jargon is surpassed only by "Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures."

LETTERS TO JUDD, by Upton Sinclair. (Published by the Author, Pasadena, Cal.) In which the American workingman is put next to such perplexing problems as, why there is poverty in a rich country, why the rich grow richer and the poor grow poorer, and is told how to socialize the methods of Wall Street to the end that the rich shall grow poorer and the poor richer.

PROFITABLE SCIENCE IN INDUSTRY. Composite editorship. (Macmillan.) A practical and profitable story of the contribution of modern science to business technology.

ESSAYS IN THE ROMANTIC POETS, by Solomon Francis Gingerich. (Macmillan.) A study of Coleridge, Wordsworth, Shelley, and Byron in support of the thesis that poets being primarily subjective and psychological and only secondarily objective and scientific, are well equipped to harmonize the totalities of life with human experience in a way to reveal the inner and permanent elements of existence.

PROGRESSIVE CHRISTIANITY, by William A. Vrooman. (Macmillan.) A study of Liberal Christianity in contrast with both Modernism and Orthodoxy, but still a bit too Christo-centric for the more radical liberal.

CURTIS W. REESE.

Correspondence

Detroit: Further Information—and Protest!

Editor of UNITY:

That was a vigorous scourging which you administered to the churches of Detroit in your editorial of November 15th. Whatever the merits of the editorial, alongside of its sheer literary power, it can hardly be said that mercy and loving kindness are among those merits. Humiliated by the open shop interests because of their friendship for organized labor, those churches have now suffered, at your hands, an additional humiliation for apparent deficiencies in that regard.

Your editorial gives the impression that Rev. Augustus P. Reccord was the only Detroit clergyman who remained openly cordial to the unions. His, however, is not the only name that could be noted in that connection. Reinhold Niebuhr, to mention only one Protestant name, emerged from the melée "without fear and without reproach." Rabbi Franklin stood four square in his friendship for organized labor. At the Cathedral, Father Ryan, a widely known friend of organized labor, was heard. Barring the solitary instance of the Y. M. C. A. it is not known that any invitation to a labor leader was actually rescinded.

Your editorial finds fault with the Detroit Council of Churches for issuing its manifesto a number of weeks after the acute stage of the difficulty. But could a manifesto have been issued before a meeting was held? Could there

*"Revelry," by Samuel Hopkins Adams. Published by Boni & Liveright, New York.

The Field

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion."

AMERICAN ARBITRATION CRUSADE

A campaign to arouse all peace-lovers to redoubled efforts to prevent war.

The method proposed requires no action by the United States that is not reciprocal on the part of other nations. It should meet the approval of every patriot from the officer of the military training camp who urges preparedness to prevent war to the absolute pacifist who pledges himself never to fight under any circumstances.

The idea is to induce our Government to outlaw war by negotiating treaties with every nation providing for obligatory arbitration or adjudication of all disputes that may arise between them.

The United States has made no such treaty. The Bryan treaties were for conciliation, the disputants remaining free to reject the recommendation of the commission. The Root treaties excepted questions of vital interest or national honor. War is not outlawed under any of them.

A nation's honor is vindicated when it has used every proper procedure for obtaining its right or redressing its wrongs. When arbitration is established as a final resort, the aggrieved nation will maintain its honor by submitting its grievance to an impartial commission or tribunal.

The development of public opinion is necessary before compulsory arbitration treaties can be adopted or sustained. To help create such opinion the American Arbitration Crusade will contribute towards the expenses of any organization that wholeheartedly promotes the arbitration method of outlawing war. It will provide various form-letters to be sent to the President; it will have resolutions and drafts of treaties prepared by experts for submission to the Senate; it will distribute books and pamphlets relating to the subject.

Arbitration Prizes

To stimulate interest the following prizes are offered:

$100 for the best letter, editorial or article appearing in any publication having at least 5,000 circulation.

$100 for the best public demonstration or concerted endeavor for obligatory arbitration.

$100 for the best cartoon.

$100 for the best slogan.

$100 for the best sermon.

The main idea must be arbitration in each instance. The time period is between Armistice Day, 1926, and Independence Day, 1927. Any letter, editorial, article, cartoon or slogan may be used by the Crusade immediately to obtain further publicity.

Every organization and citizen is urged to take action along one or more of the following lines:

1. Send resolutions or letters to President Coolidge urging all-inclusive arbitration treaties.
2. Write to the papers and magazines; publish pamphlets; preach sermons; draw cartoons and posters.
3. Urge your Senator to introduce suitable resolutions in Congress.
4. Send this leaflet to ten or more of your friends. It will be supplied on request. You may be a factor in substituting law for war.

Among the endorsers of this Crusade are the following, from whom a committee will be selected to award the prizes:

Alexander M. Bing, City Housing Corporation, New York City.

Harriet Stanton Blatch, Author of "A Woman's Point of View," etc.

George W. Coleman, President, Babson Institute; Director, Ford Hall Forum.

Charles A. Ellwood, Professor of Sociology, University of Missouri; Author of "The Reconstruction of Religion."

Julia Ellsworth Ford, Author of "Imagina," etc.

Zona Gale, Author of "Friendship Village," "Miss Lulu Bett," etc.

John Haynes Holmes, Minister of the Community Church of New York; Author of "New Wars for Old," etc.

Jessie Wallace Hughan, War Resisters' League; Author of "A Study of International Government."

Will Irwin, Author of "The Next War," "Christ or Mars," etc.

David Starr Jordan, Chancellor emeritus, Stanford University.

Henry Goddard Leach, Editor of The Forum.

Owen R. Lovejoy, Director, American Political Science Association.

Frederick Lynch, Church Peace Union.

Edwin Markham, Author of "The Man with the Hoe," etc.

Francis J. McConnell, Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Louis F. Post, former Ass't Secretary of Labor; Author of "Ethics of Democracy," etc.

Ellen F. Pendleton, President, Wellesley College.

Margaret Loring Thomas, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

Fanny Garrison Villard, Women's Peace Society.

William Allen White, Editor of Emporia Gazette; Author of "Life of

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have been a manifesto without the lapse of a little time for thought and discussion? Would you have preferred to see the Detroit Council of Churches act precipitously, without due counsel and advice from those for whom it undertakes to speak?

Even in the instances of those whom you excoriate for lack of courage, is it not of moment that it takes many people to make a church? Why flay an entire church for the policy of some of its members? Above all, why castigate the clergyman for the doings of the church? Does the clergyman own the church? Is he the dictator of the church that he can be held responsible for the decrees of the church?

Again, what has become of the honorable right to differ? Assuming that people think otherwise than we do about the merits of organized labor or about the suitability of a religious meeting as the occasion for bringing up partisan issues, shall we for that reason fall upon those people and smite them hip and thigh?

In your sympathy with organized labor and in your resentment of the interference emanating from the open shop interests, I am entirely on your side. But, with all my admiration for you, I can not maintain the silence which implies consent when I read an editorial, especially a powerful and persuasive one, which appears to me in various respects, unjust and unfair.

ABRAHAM CRONBACH.

Cincinnati, Ohio.

How Witty God Is!

Editor of UNITY:

Of all the amusing spectacles that confront a saddened, thoughtful and apprehensive world today, it would seem that nothing could be staged more explosively funny (to cheer us up a bit), more ironically delightful than the exhibition that M. Briand, Minister of Foreign Affairs for France, gave the other day in the League of Nations Assembly. At one and the same moment the Foreign Minister was shouting, with eye on Heaven (where Noah's Dove of Peace cocked his eye at him pretty quick), "From the bottom of my heart I cry, 'Away with rifles, machine guns and cannon!'"—and the bottom of the French cannon was emptying its red gluttony, and meant to continue, on the cry of the men of the Hills of Lebanon—the ancient Druses,—for Man's Inalienable Right, Liberty! *"From the bottom of my heart I cry, 'Away with rifles, machine guns and cannon!'"*—and the French cannon were delivering damnation, and meant to continue, to the hero of the Riff, the Prince and saintly Warrior, Abdel Krim, fighting only as Saint George (Washington) fought for the independence of his land and people. If George III had succeeded in pinning George Washington to Penzance, and then roared from the "bottom" of his hymnal organs—while still bombing Betsy Ross and her Flag veined with America's crimson intention, "From the bottom of my heart I cry, 'Away with rifles, machine guns and cannon!'" it could not have been funnier.

How witty God is!

LUCY CLEVELAND.

New York City.

Correction

Editor of UNITY:

In the UNITY of Nov. 1, 1926, on page 142, in the letter, "Yield with Love" in the last paragraph but one, the words "express a passion, negative non-resistance" . . . should read: express a passive, negative non-resistance. . .

C. G. ARNOLD.

Los Angeles, Calif.

Woodrow Wilson," "Life of Calvin Coolidge," etc.
William Floyd, Editor of The Arbitrator; Organizer of this Arbitration Crusade.

This will be a pay-as-you-go campaign; no commitments will be made until the funds are in hand. The preliminary amount has already been provided. Contributions will be used for extending the work of education.

A donation of 25 cents enrolls anyone as a Peace Crusader; $1 as a Peace Seeker; $5 as a Peace Counsellor; $10 as a Peace Advocate; $25 as a Peace Patron; $100 as a Peace Patriot; $500 or more as a Peace Founder.

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January 7—Sidney Hillman
Current Progress in Industrial Relations
President, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.
January 14—Elizabeth A. Drew
Society and Mr. George Bernard Shaw

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